



A  
L E T T E R  
TO THE  
RIGHT HONOURABLE  
W I L L S  
EARL OF HILLSBOROUGH,  
ON THE  
C O N N E C T I O N  
B E T W E E N  
G R E A T B R I T A I N  
AND HER  
AMERICAN COLONIES.

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----- *A---m rege :---nifi paret,*  
*Imperat.* H O R.

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MDCCCLXVIII.



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L E T T E R, &c.

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MY LORD,

IT is the way of the world to bestow favours more liberally on those who do not, than on those who do, want them. Nor is this universally acknowledged propensity, when fairly canvassed, so very illaudable as it seems at first blush. Possessions, of whatever kind, must always imply a presumption, at least, of some sort of merit. From the most sordid cruminal, to the noblest literary and senatorial acquirements, we may trace in the possessors a spirit, or habit, beneficial to the publick ;

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for the publick subsists by the labours and exertions of its individuals. The possessor of the greater proportion of talents has even the express sanction of heaven for the acquisition of more: while the dull forlorn wretch, whose indolence and ignorance have either dissipated his store, or preserved barely the poor pittance which nature had granted, without fruit or increase, is deservedly stripped of even that which he hath.

PROMPTED by this principle, I presume to address a few scattered thoughts, (meriting notice, or not, as your judgement will determine,) on the subject of the relation between Great Britain and her Colonies, to your Lordship, as the man perhaps in the world who want advice and information on this topick the least; but who, at the same time, from principle, ability, and station, can make the best use, and the most salutary for your country, of the smallest mite thrown into that treasure of commercial and political knowledge, which  
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by attention and experience you have accumulated already.

THE grand question respecting a parliamentary taxation of our Colonies in America has been aptly and generally divided into two parts ; the one relative to the Right of the Legislature of Great Britain to impose taxes upon them at any time whatever, the other relative to the Expediency of exercising such Right in the present conjuncture. The legislative Right of this kingdom over every most distant parcel of the British empire, though solemnly affirmed by a declaration of the highest, and most authoritative nature, is still doubted by many, who scruple not to express their doubts in strong terms. The Expediency of exercising such Right at present, by levying a tax on the American Colonies, has, after long debate, been determined in the negative by the supreme legislature.

UPON this state of the case, both questions are, in my opinion, still open to discussion. The former, because many men may lend a patient ear to private reason, which offers itself with the conciliating air of equality, who revolt at once from the authority of parliamentary decision: and it is surely more eligible to convince than to compel. Compulsion extends only to acts, not to thoughts: and such thoughts as the people of this country entertain, it would be extremely difficult, nor is it desirable, to prevent their expressing. They are a generous spirited people, fond of freedom to enthusiasm, and would maintain that of others at the hazard of their own; but, I hope, not madly at the certain loss of it.

THE latter question, that, I mean, of Expediency, is still open to discussion; because, from its nature, it can admit of no more than a temporary determination. What is not expedient to day may become so to-morrow, but natural Rights are of stable duration. Thus the Expediency  
must

must ever be free to debate ; the Right only so far as may tend to convince the prejudiced and uninformed.

THE two questions seem to me, in many points of view, so closely, and, I may say, cunningly, interwoven together, that the same thread of argument suits the texture of both. Though the division, therefore, be clear, I profess not to treat them always as separate, but to blend, or distinguish, as occasion may require.

AT the head of that army, which ostensibly ranges itself under the banners of liberty, there proudly steps forth a gigantick phantom, plumed with the arrogance of imaginary vigour, who hurls defiance against all opponents, himself truly invulnerable, because a mere goblin of air. I mean the monstrous idea of a *Virtual Representation*. Grant this phantom, for one moment, a possible existence, and he militates equally, in the present contest, for Great Britain, and her Colonies. If  
he



he makes but one step from Manchester to London, he may as easily stride Colossus-like across the Atlantick. If any one town in England be but *virtually* represented, her Colonies have surely no good cause to murmur, if they be included within the same predicament. So that all the boasted reasoning that Eloquence has drawn from the strange proposition of a Virtual Representation labours obviously under the fatal objection of proving too much---a fatality attendant upon almost every argument worth a moment's consideration, which the Advocates of America have lately adduced.

SUPPOSE, my Lord, two sober and sensible men, the one an Englishman, the other a Colonist, sit down to reason together, coolly and deliberately, on the popular subject of an American taxation by a British legislature. As to the point of Expediency, it is pretty clear, I think, and certain, they can never agree. Waving other considerations, this single bar to

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harm they will keep them always at variance: namely, the good Englishman, with all his generosity, having a rooted aversion to the payment of (*eo nomine*) TAXES, will ever think it expedient, if he be satisfied of his Right, to lighten his own burden, by laying a part of it on American shoulders; an idea of Expediency, to which the spirited Colonist can never subscribe, while he preserves that desire, so natural to man, of chusing rather to dispose of his property himself, than suffer it to lie at the disposal of another.

THE Right, however, opens a more ample field of argument; the reasoning on it is more abstracted, and comes not home so soon or so closely to the Individual. I can well conceive the Englishman, upon general theoretical notions of Liberty, to whose cause he is always so warmly attached, upon notions of Equality amongst all the sons of men, very fine in speculation, and very false in fact, I can conceive him, I say, on the naked question of Right,  
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to be led away by plausible and conciliatory propositions, pressed much more strongly upon his heart than his head, offered, not to the man's reason, but rather to the man, rendered pleasingly insidious by compliments artfully paid to the glorious struggles of Englishmen in all ages for Liberty, I can conceive him so enraptured with this Dulcinea of his imagination, as to sacrifice his senses at her visionary shrine, and while he combats ærial castles for her honour, to desert his patrimony, and abdicate his birthright.-----But, my Lord, I ask pardon : I had forgot that my Englishman was a man of calmness and good sense. He sets a just and true value on his birthright ; and, although not absolutely predetermined on the question, resolves to be on his guard against the sophistry of his antagonist, whose interest he sees deeply concerned in the issue.

BUT, before my two champions enter the lists of debate, give me leave to shew that, on the topick of Right, as I have  
already

already endeavoured to demonstrate that they may agree, by the Briton's attachment to the Siren Song of false Liberty, so their sentiments may likewise be brought to coincide, by a concession of the Right on the part of the Colonist. But such concession would be temporary and delusive, not flowing from conviction, but extorted by fear. The power of Great Britain might justly alarm : Opposition, it might be apprehended, would irritate and inflame : an insolent or obstinate denial of the Right might provoke a sudden exertion of Power to enforce it. Policy would suggest that the self-same arguments, which at this day support Colonial Independence, might be urged with far greater security and efficacy, when their numbers are become double, and when their wealth is augmented in, perhaps, a tenfold proportion, chiefly by means of the supineness of Britain, in resting satisfied with empty declarations of one of her most important and essential Rights ; which, if not speedily and efficiently asserted, will soon found

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as ridiculous, as the Cham of Tartary's gracious permission to the potentates of the earth to sit down to their dinners.

THUS, I say, my Lord, it is possible that, on the topick of Right, the Briton and the Colonist may smoke the calumet of peace : with only this difference respecting their motives---that, if the agreement arises from the Briton's acceding to the sentiments of the Colonist, and disclaiming his supremacy as incompatible with freedom, he acts from the benevolent simplicity of his heart, and the coincidence of opinion is cordial and sincere. If this agreeable concurrence, on the other hand, should spring from a concession on the part of the American, such acquiescence is politick, temporary, and delusive, calculated merely to amuse, and suspend the dreaded exertion of power, till strength be acquired to support argument with force.

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BUT my two sober Disputants, whom, as men of my own creation, I have a right to model according to my fancy, shall bring no other weapon into the field of ratiocination than plain good sense, supported by a general information as to facts, and a tolerable insight into the topicks of argument. To make them Men, each must have his foible : it shall be an amiable one, and the same in both---namely, a tender predilection for the countries which respectively gave them birth, implanted deeply by nature in the bosom of each, and branching out imperceptibly under cover of their reasonings, but not with such pressure as to diminish their force.

IT is not my intent to frame a regular colloquy, or to embarrass the discourse by marking precisely every answer and reply. Let us suppose the first forms of disputation adjusted ; let us pass over each previous question in silence ; let us endeavour, as soon as may be, to lay hold on the point. It is urged by the American, with great

plausibility, and with a glow of eloquence, which even the semblance of Liberty always inspires, (but which, to avoid the transgression of epistolary limits, it is my duty to restrain,) that Man has no native superiority over Man; that, not only by virtue of this general principle, but by virtue of the most express and particular stipulations, an Englishman can claim no superiority over an American, except that of a Father over a Son at full age, which, if circumstances are easy \*, amounts to nothing more than a claim of honour and respect; that such homage the Americans are ever willing to pay; that in the payment of such homage they have never yet been deficient; that they have proceeded much farther, and, as became children zealously devoted to their duty, have lavished their blood and treasure in the quarrels of that parent, who now seeks to oppress them; that they are still ready to expend their treasure to the last mite, and

\* Easy, I mean, on the part of the Father.

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their blood to the last drop, in defence and support of the rights of their parent ; but that, while they remain free, the mode of exertion must be left to themselves ; that they themselves are the only competent judges of the strength of their own sinews ; that they are freeborn Britons, as the Descendants of Britons, and have never yet forfeited or impaired their title to the glorious immunities and privileges of their Ancestors, but by the whole tenor of their conduct have rather strengthened their claim ; that the volatile spirit of English Liberty transfuses its sacred flame through every remotest branch of the Empire of Great Britain ; that Property is inviolable under the influence of that spirit ; that an extortion of money from the meanest individual by colour of law would be such a fatal violation of Property, as must wound the very vitals of the whole collective system ; that such extortion means nothing more than a taking of it from the individual, without his express or implied, without his actual, or at least his virtual consent ;

that



that external prohibitions or restrictions upon commerce may be vindicated by the extent of the naval power of Great Britain, by her confessedly paramount dominion at sea, but that internal taxation rests on a quite different basis ; that the levying taxes in America by the sole authority of a British legislature, whereof America constitutes not one single member, would be the grossest violation of American Property ; that Taxation and Representation must ever go hand in hand ; that all the inhabitants of Britain are either actually or virtually represented in the British Senate, but not one single inhabitant of America bears, as an American, the minutest part in either such actual or virtual representation ; that the Colonies in fact have Assemblies of their own, constituted in every respect like the British Parliament, and fully adequate to every purpose of taxation amongst themselves ; that those Assemblies are the only power which can or ought to tax them ; that these principles and sentiments are not the luxuriant growth  
of

of American opulence and wantonneſs, now factiouſly aiming at a novel independence, but were imported from Great Britain by their Britiſh Anceſtors, who brought along with them into thoſe inhospitable wilds the ſpirit of the Law and Conſtitution of their Country, which have been at various times, then and ſince, confirmed to them, by the ſame high ſanction, which ſtamps the FIAT on every Britiſh Act of Parliament, namely, by the ſanction of the Crown of Great Britain.

I HOPE, my Lord, I have not been a niggard to my Colonift: if his beſt reaſoning proves defective, he muſt blame the weakneſs of his cauſe: if I have not placed it in its full eſt light, it was no error of intention: if I have been deficient in my representation of it, I muſt take ſhame to the imbecillity of my own underſtanding, which, I fairly acknowledge, did for ſome time acquieſce under the weight of thoſe very arguments, which I now have urged freely, though conciſely, for him.

Attention

Attention and deliberation have changed my opinion: and, to vary my style, and throw off the awkwardness of a dialogue in the third person, I will proceed to urge my Englishman's answer as my own.

WOULD to God that all mankind enjoyed freedom and happiness, in the highest, most perfect, and permanent degree! Would to God there were no pain, or other evil in the world!---But how vain are such wishes! How futile are the dreams of the Philosopher in his study, where he creates worlds by his fancy, and models systems by his caprice---for Reason, abstracted from fact and experience, will always degenerate into fancy and caprice. How long did the *natural* world lie enveloped in darkness, while Hypothesis was deified, and Experiment despised! while the reins hung loose about the neck of Reason, and Fact was trampled upon, as unworthy of regard!---Reasoning *à priori* is in every respect as false, and leads as certainly to error, in the moral, and political,

tical, as it is now universally confessed that it did, for a series of ages, in the natural world. There are, indeed, in Ethicks, as well as in Physicks, and likewise in Politicks, as well as in both, certain grand first principles, which serve as polar stars, to give light and direction for the discovery of the true system : but, though we take them as guides, they are by no means the sources whence our reasonings should flow. The tendency of argument should be upwards to them from facts, not downwards from them at random. The rays of ratiocination should arise severally from the scattered multitude of experiments, and then in their progress converge to a point : but, if they are forced absurdly to dart from that point towards which they should tend, diverging through their whole course, they will dissipate their lustre, nor preserve sufficient radiance, when they have reached the sphere of reality, to elucidate a single fact which experience offers to our view.---Such has been the fate of all Hypothetical, Platonick, and Utopian

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systems !

systems ! such must ever be their fate, till Man advances to perfection---a period, indeed, most devoutly to be wished ; but, if we may judge from the past, and, I fear I may add with strict truth, from the present, not likely to be accomplished, at least in our time.

THE subordination of Colonies, wherever planted, to their Mother Country, is as universally acknowledged, as it is variously defined. To argue from experience, as well as from reason, we must presume that every such established subordination partakes in nature, as well as in degree, of the constitution of that particular Country, from which the Colony that owns it took its rise. The Colonies of monarchical and aristocratical Despotism, will in vain sigh for freedom, while they pay homage to their Parent ; the Colonies of every popular, mixed, and free Government, preserving their duty, have a right to be free. A sudden fit of phrenzy, though mischievous, may be pardoned. But should such  
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free Colonies, with deliberation and perseverance, make riotous, tumultuous, or rebellious opposition to the legal appointments of that power whence they sprung, it might become necessary, perhaps, not only to reduce them, by compulsory measures, to a just sense, or at least an ostensible practice of duty; but by binding their hands, to secure the Parent from a repetition of outrage. Thus, I trust, it will clearly and readily be granted, that no Colony can ever pretend to a greater proportion of liberty, than the Country from which it derives existence enjoys, while it continues to profess a duty to that Country; and that every Colony is liable, by a gross and flagrant abuse of indulgence, to a reduction below the fixed standard of liberty, as primarily and constitutionally erected by law.

I AM well aware that, on a larger scale of abstract reasoning, All Men are at all times universally free.---But the laws of Nature are applicable only to its state.

Its state, and its laws have been found alike inconvenient. Mankind, in exact proportion to their civilization, over the whole face of the earth, have abrogated both, and substituted others at discretion in their room. The particular exigencies of every Society, as from time to time they arose, and the operation of those exigencies upon the genius, spirit, and temper of the major part of the members of every such Society, or, if not democratical, upon its leading man, or leading men, have given occasion to the framing of particular ordinances, which are so many encroachments on, or at least restrictions of, the universal law of Nature, and upon their multiplication have swelled to a Code, which becomes the municipal law of the Country, and gives equally the tone to its constitution, and its manners. It is thus, in effect, that every political state has been gradually formed. Mankind never met in an oecumenical assembly, either collectively in their persons, or virtually by their representatives, to make at once a grand division of the lands  
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 tive Nation, within which its posterity  
 should be for ever inclosed. Nor have the  
 legal constitutions, any more than the le-  
 gal limits, of the several Nations, been  
 settled at one æra, and confirmed by the  
 sanction of universal assent. Both are in  
 fact, and always have been, in every part  
 subject to perpetual fluctuation. As they  
 stand at the present moment, it is both our  
 moral duty, and our interest, to pay them  
 respect and obedience; though we know  
 that, even at the very next moment, they  
 are liable to every possible alteration, from  
 that supreme legislative power, which has  
 gradually gained pre-eminence and ascen-  
 dancy, and must be omnipotent in every  
 state. Were all human Society by some  
 sudden stroke dissolved, and men thereby  
 left free to form new associations, during  
 such interregnum the law of Nature would  
 rule. But till that event happens, it be-  
 hoves us to submit to the regulations of  
 that country, where we chuse or chance

to



to reside, as we find those regulations already established. Reformation, where requisite, must be of gradual growth, and abuses, as they arose, be removed, by degrees. The Supreme Legislature alone can be the Reformer of political evils. Individuals may address, remonstrate, and complain ; but are bound to obey, till the Supreme Power grants redress. An establishment of gradual rise is certainly much firmer, and probably more just, than one of sudden creation, however generally assented to : because the same authority that has passed an Act, can as readily repeal it ; but where time is an ingredient in the composition of its force, time should likewise conspire to work its dissolution. Few men are born to new-model Governments : All are born within the sphere of some particular form, to which they are morally obliged to yield homage and obedience. The Freedom of every man, born in the lap of a Community, is by no means an absolute, unrestrained, savage Freedom ; but limited by, and amenable to, the laws  
of

of that Community, wherein he drew his first breath, and afterwards to the laws of such other Communities, amongst whom he may happen from time to time to reside. However shadowy the idea of a *virtual* representation, every Heir is the *actual* representative of his Ancestors, as his Ancestors were by anticipation the representatives of him. This is a Representation formed by Nature herself. As the Heir is undoubtedly a part of his Ancestors, those Ancestors were reciprocally so many parts of the Heir : as they were his representatives, he is bound by their acts ; as he is their representative, he is bound to fulfill their engagements.

To apply to the subject matter this political doctrine, which I hold to be that of common sense and experience---for I entirely wave the authority of great names, and will as confidently undertake to support right reason, sound policy, and truth, against a LOCKE, as against a FILMER ; however conscious of the weakness of my  
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own abilities, however respectable I think the one, however contemptible I think the other, of those two jarring names.---

To apply, I say, to the subject matter this political doctrine, I will only beg permission to ask a few questions, and leave the answers and their consequences to candour and common sense.

Are not the British Colonists in America the Descendants of British Ancestors, and is not this *postulatum* the very foundation, upon which they lay claim to the immunities of Britons? Can the Descendants of British Ancestors, merely as being so descended, arrogate to themselves, by any colour of right, a greater proportion of freedom, than those very Ancestors actually enjoyed, or than such of the Posterity of those very Ancestors, as remain in Great Britain, now actually enjoy? Had any one of those Ancestors, under whom they derive their claim, the least share in constituting that legislature, whose supremacy he was bound in all things to obey, unless

as a Freeholder of lands or tenements in Great Britain, or as a Freeman of some corporate town within the realm? Have the Posterity of those Ancestors, still remaining in Britain, any share in constituting the supreme legislature, unless as such Freeholders, or as such Freemen? Have the major part of the inhabitants of Great Britain any actual share in constituting the supreme legislature? Are not all, however, bound to obey its power, equally with those who are its actual constituents? Will the Colonists, by obeying the legislature of Britain be one jot less free than those of her sons who have no share in constituting it? Have the moneyed men of Great Britain, merely as moneyed men, the copyholders, as copyholders, or lessees for years, as lessees for years, the least share in constituting the supreme legislature, any more than the Colonists have, as Colonists? May not all those persons, however, by becoming Freeholders of lands or tenements, or Freemen of cor-

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porations within the realm of Great Britain, acquire a right to be constituents of the legislature, and may not the Colonists acquire the same right, precisely by the same means? Are not Representative and Constituent relative terms? Can I have a Representative, unless I am a Constituent? Though possessed of every million accumulated in the funds, though tenant by copy of all the lands in England which are held by such tenure, though lessee for a term of ninety-nine years of every acre which may be so lett, am I, in consequence of such an immense mass of property, a Constituent of the legislature in the minutest degree? Have I a Representative? Yet do I not pay taxes? Do Taxation and Representation then go hand in hand? Am I not taxed by the Legislature, though I have no Representative? Is not then the boasted inseparable alliance between Taxation and Representation founded on fiction, and overthrown by fact? Are not Taxation and LEGISLATION the truly inseparable allies?

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allies? Do not the Colonists acquiesce un-  
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 a levying of such duties as they call exter-  
 nal taxes, by the sole authority of the  
 British legislature? Can common sense  
 find a difference, except in the name, be-  
 tween external and internal taxation?  
 Are not such commodities as may lie in a  
 chest on board the vessel of an American  
 trader, as much his property as the mo-  
 ney in his purse? Does it require a great-  
 er stretch of the arm of civil power to take  
 a shilling from the one than an ounce from  
 the other? Should I not feel as sensibly  
 the loss of my cash, if taken from my  
 agent, my factor, or my servant, as if ta-  
 ken immediately from my own proper  
 person?---Can those boasted Charters, by  
 virtue whereof the several Colonies claim  
 a royal exemption from parliamentary au-  
 thority, operate one degree farther than  
 the Charters granted by the Crown to the  
 several corporations within the realm of  
 Great Britain? Are not the privileges of

each entirely confined to the making of bye-laws, and the raising of duties within themselves, to answer their own private purposes respectively, abstracted from such exigencies as regard the whole publick weal? Did the Crown in fact mean to grant them larger powers, or could the Crown constitutionally have granted them larger powers, had it meant so to do? Can the Crown place a single subject of the realm beyond the reach of the Legislature of Great Britain?---If I, as a moneyed man, copyholder, or lessee, having no right to vote in the election of a member of parliament, am yet virtually represented by such persons as are chosen without my concurrence, do not the Colonies fall equally within the imagined line of such virtual representation? Or if, (as the case really stands,) I am taxed by the sole authority of all-ruling Legislation, without my having the shadow of a Representative in parliament, shall I tamely submit to the payment of such tax, which is levied  
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*without.* that is, *against* my consent, and shall my American Cousin murmur at bowing before the same awful sceptre, which is swayed constitutionally by the hand of Supreme Power over all his Kinsmen indiscriminately in the Mother Country?

I MUST ask your Lordship's pardon, if on some of the topicks I have been too diffusive, on others too concise. Yet to you, my Lord, I should apologize only for tediousness, brevity cannot stand in need of an excuse; for, by neither could I hope to give your Lordship information, by one I must certainly intrude on your time. But, in truth, though I have chosen to address myself to your Lordship, I have had it in view to write for the People. A good and free People are always worthy of conviction, and conviction may flow from the homeliest pen. My aim, however, has rather been to put the good sense of the Publick upon the true scent of the argument,



ment, than to presume to hunt down the game for them myself.

I CANNOT conclude, without retouching a point, which I have as yet barely glanced at, but which deserves the most mature and most solid attention; I mean, the necessity of enforcing the right of the supreme legislature to frame Money-bills, as well as other laws, for America, upon the primary grand principle, the cardinal law of Nature, SELF-PRESERVATION. It grieves me to consider the interests of Britain in a light of opposition to those of her Colonies: but the Colonies themselves extort the distinction. Are they not at this moment taking every harsh measure, by conventions, combinations, provincial compacts, and lawless associations---I had almost added, by solemn leagues and covenants, to distress our manufacturers, and set up an avowed Independence for themselves? and this too at a time when they have just received the tenderest proofs of parental

parental indulgence!--Is this their duty?  
 this their affection?---Is it not rivalry  
 and opposition in the most rancorous de-  
 gree?

If there can be found an Englishman, so  
 unnaturally disaffected to the Country that  
 gave him birth, as to applaud those efforts,  
 which aim shafts at her vitals, as to cry out  
 enthusiastically, *Hos utinam inter*

*Heröas natum tellus me nova tulisset !---*

In the name of God let him fly there:  
 what stops his migration? Let him settle  
 amongst his Favourites: let him dwell  
 with his *Elect*. But while he lives in Old  
 England, it is his interest, nay more, it is  
 his duty, to view every thing through the  
 medium of her welfare and prosperity, and  
 not to seek for *new lights* in a new quarter  
 of the globe.

ONE objection is urged by some well-  
 meaning people, which I had like to have  
 passed over, as from its futility scarce me-  
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riting a serious refutation ; but, as I recollect to have heard it more than once much insisted on by men of good hearts, though but weak understandings, I will give it an answer. Such men I shall ever be studious to set right, to the best of my poor ability and information, while Sophistry deserves only to be detected and despised. The objection is this, “ that  
 “ the Colonists must either be Freemen or  
 “ Slaves ; that no medium can be found  
 “ between Freedom and Slavery ; and,  
 “ consequently, that if Dependence be enforced in the least degree, the Chains of  
 “ Slavery are rivetted about their necks.” This plea rests solely on the infirm basis of a false proposition ; which once overturned, the superstructure is demolished. Freedom is by no means an absolute idea, but clearly susceptible of diminution and increase : or, as the Logicians would phrase it, *Libertas recipit magis et minus*. To instance at once in our own happy Constitution--- Since the late solemn judicial condemnation  
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tion of General Warrants, we are certainly become a freer people than we were before; yet it will scarcely follow that such condemnation formed the glorious æra of British Liberty, and that till that propitious moment every Briton was a slave.

LET not the generous Friends of Freedom entertain an apprehension that they revolt from her cause, in reducing within the legal bounds of their natural duty these Mock-Champions of Liberty, who plead exemption from the authority of a popular legislature, by a Royal Diploma, by a FIAT of One Man; who in the same breath contend for a licentious emancipation from constitutional Government, and proclaim themselves Charter-formed Creatures of the Crown!

Great Britain can never be otherwise respectable, than as a centre of power, be the circumference of her dominion ever so widely extended. *Aut Cæsar, aut nullus*  
 F should

should be this Island's motto. It is by strength of constitution, and policy of law, that we have risen above the gulph we were plunged in by nature, and can no longer be treated with contemptuous neglect, no longer be pointed at as outcasts of the world, as miserable borderers on the *ultima Thule*, as *penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos*. Our Liberty we owe to the virtue of our ancestors, our Empire must be maintained by the virtue of ourselves. Nay, even our very Liberty must fall with our Empire, and I hope our Existence will not outlast our Liberty. We have gloriously defended it against the open assaults of foreign enemies, against the undermining arts of domestick traytors. And shall we tamely and pusillanimously suffer it to be wrested from us, by a long-cherished, ungrateful, refractory offspring? That we have Right to support us has, I trust, been demonstrated: that we have Power to enforce it, *we* feel, and *they* know. And shall we hesitate for ever upon petty scruples

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ples of Expedience?---Will not Obstina-  
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 gence? Does not the Offspring of Ame-  
 rica increase every day? Does not every  
 day add to the number of her sons by  
 adoption? Does not the vigour of every  
 Country spring immediately from its po-  
 pulation? Do not Freedom and Indepen-  
 dence give sinews to that vigour? Are the  
 Children of Great Britain multiplied in  
 proportion? Are her naturalized Renega-  
 does from Asia, Africa, and the Conti-  
 nent, at all comparable, as militants for  
 a free Constitution, to the genuine nurse-  
 lings of these ISLANDS of LIBERTY,  
 who migrate to America by hundreds  
 every year? Have we purchased Canada at  
 the expence of our best blood and treasure,  
 to serve as a forge to prepare chains for  
 our posterity? ----- There can be no  
 doubt but that the self-same sources, which  
 pour in riches and plenteousness upon a  
 Country, if suffered to run over, by their  
 luxuriance may destroy it. Our Ameri-  
 can

can Colonies are copious springs of our treasure; but should their streams overflow those channels our Supremacy has prescribed, they would deluge that land which they now fertilize.

*I have the Honour to be,*

*with the greatest Respect,  
Esteem, and Regard,*

MY LORD,

*Your Lordship's most obedient,  
and most humble servant,*

GEORGE CANNING.

*Middle Temple,  
March 15th, 1768.*

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